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INTERNATIONAL DEMOGRAPHICS

CONSUMER TRENDS AND MARKETS ABROAD

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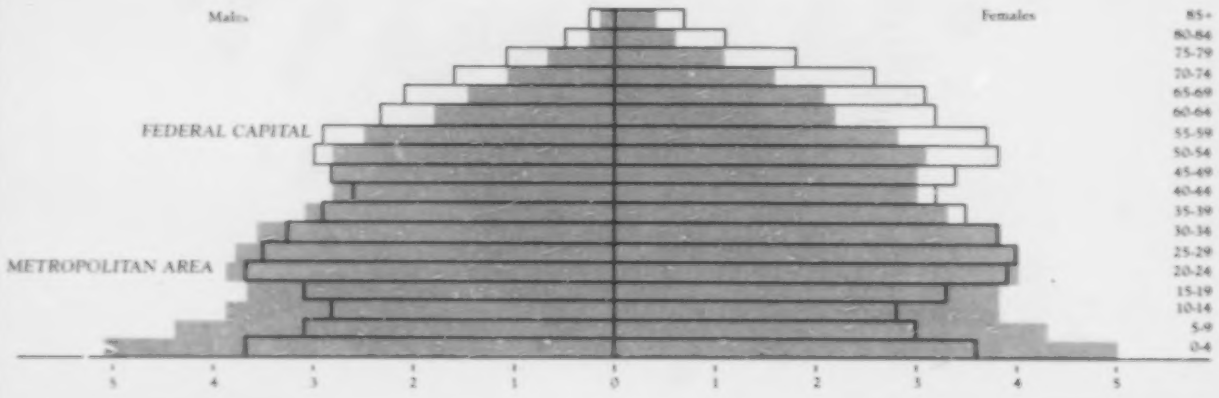
POPULATION OF BUENOS AIRES BY AGE AND SEX: 1980



AREA PROFILE

BUENOS AIRES

Sometimes called the "Paris of South America," Buenos Aires, Argentina is undoubtedly the most European of all Latin American capitals. Its stately boulevards and sidewalk cafes remind one of Paris, its subway and its financial district of London, its ethnic neighborhoods of Rome or Naples.

Few capitals in the world reflect so little of the culture of their hinterland. Nevertheless, all these cosmopolitan flavors have their history; Argentina was built on French culture, British commercial interests, and the labor of Italian and Spanish immigrants. Buenos Aires received more immigrants than any other part of the country. As Argentina's foremost poet, Jorge Luis Borges, once put it: "Our tradition is all of Western culture."

Throughout the colonial period, Buenos Aires was a small harbor of little importance at the meeting point of the *pampas*, or prairies, and the River Plate. Actually, the River Plate is not a river, but a broad estuary into which flow the Rivers Parana and Uruguay. The harbor of Buenos Aires was scarcely used because the Spanish Crown favored Lima. As late as 1850, the city had less than 90,000 inhabitants and struggled to extend its authority over a nation of less than 1.5 million.

The 6 million European immigrants that entered the country between 1860 and 1930 affected its social fabric to a degree equal only to that of the United States in the 19th century. Settling mostly in the largest cities in the east, the migrants were responsible for the explosive growth of Buenos Aires and its suburbs during the half century preceding World War I: from 174,000 inhabitants in 1869 to 666,000 by 1895 and 1.93 million by 1914. Although Italians and Spaniards predominated, almost any New York City surname can be found in the current Buenos Aires phone book.

After 1914, the rhythm of growth in the metropolitan area slowed down somewhat, to an average of 2.5 percent a year. Even so, as internal migration gradually replaced the earlier European immigration wave, Buenos Aires expanded more rapidly than the nation as a whole, which grew only by

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THIS MONTH: BUENOS AIRES

NATION WITHIN A NATION

With more than a third of the entire national population, Greater Buenos Aires frequently gives the impression of a "nation within a nation." Indeed, it is one of the classical examples of a primate city, as the following figures for 1980 illustrate.

The Federal Capital and Greater Buenos Aires as a percentage of the Argentinian:	*Federal Capital*	*Greater Buenos Aires*
Population	10.5%	34.9%
Population under age 15	6.5	30.6
Population over age 65	19.0	41.1
Households	12.9	37.6
Households under poverty limit	4.0	22.8
Population with higher education	29.9	47.0
Economically active population	11.9	37.5
Female labor force	16.4	42.3
Industrial labor force	9.7	45.7
Labor force in financial activities	29.3	55.1
Professionals	31.9	49.8
Foreign-born population	20.3	59.2
Owner-occupied homes	13.0	40.3
Houses	4.4	29.9
Apartments	52.8	74.3
Homes with running water	21.0	41.2
Homes connected to general sewerage	37.4	57.7

Source: INDEC, *Censo Nacional de Población y Vivienda de 1980*; INDEC, *La Pobreza en la Argentina, 1984*

about 1.9 percent a year during the same period. In 1914, the Metropolitan area accounted for 26 percent of the national population. In 1947, when Greater Buenos Aires had 4.66 million inhabitants, this share had risen to almost 30 percent. By 1960, its population had reached 6.74 million and by 1970, 8.32 million.

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

Today, the metropolitan area, or Greater Buenos Aires, holds almost 11 million inhabitants. Although gradually losing out to Rio de Janeiro, it is still the second largest urban area in the southern hemisphere, after Sao Paulo, and one of the ten largest in the world. According to United Nations projections, its population is expected to increase to 13.2 million by the year 2000.

The City of Buenos Aires proper, which will be referred to as the Federal Capital from now on, is an important seaport occupying an area of 77 square miles on the banks of the River Plate. The city now accounts for less than 30 percent of the metropolitan population, a total of 2.92 million inhabitants in 1980, divided among the 20 school districts that are the basic enumeration unit for the 1980 census tabulations.

Most *portenos*, as the inhabitants of Buenos Aires are usually called, now live in one of the 19 peripheral municipalities or *partidos* that form a semicircle with a total area of 1,421 square miles around the Federal Capital. Together, the partidos had 6.84 million inhabitants in 1980; they belong to the so-called Province of Buenos Aires, with a total population of 10.87 million.

The partidos of General San Martin, Lanus, Lomas de Zamora, Moron, San Isidro, Tres de Febrero, and Vicente Lopez are completely urban. The small rural areas of some of the other partidos, with a total of 56,453 inhabitants, are not usually considered to be part of the metropolitan area, although they will be included in most of the statistics mentioned in this article. The partido most affected is Florencio Varela, which is 6.4 percent rural.

On the other hand, the urban growth of Greater Buenos Aires is spreading into some of the neighboring partidos, which do not formally belong to the metropolitan area, such as Escobar (pop. 81,385 in 1980) and Pilar (84,429) to the north, General Rodriguez (32,035) and Marcos Paz (20,225) to the west, and Canuelas (25,391) and San Vicente (55,803) to the south. Also becoming integrated into this larger conurbation is La Plata (pop. 477,175), the capital of the Province of Buenos Aires, which lies to the southeast of the metropolitan area.

PARTIDOS AND NEIGHBORHOODS

Increasingly, the Federal Capital is becoming a middle class residential area, as its rich move out toward the northern suburbs and its poor toward the southern and western "ciudades dormitorios," or dormitory towns. Most industry is concentrated in the peripheral areas south of the city: Lanus, Lomas de Zamora, Quilmes, and Avellaneda. Avellaneda is one of the major industrial centers in the country. Apart from being known for its hides and wool, it has an important food processing industry. Quilmes has one of the world's largest breweries. Further to the south, Florencio Varela is the site of several chemical plants. To the northwest of the Federal Capital, General San Martin is another industrial center of some importance, whereas the small holiday resort of Tigre is also known for its wood processing industry.

The other partidos on the northern coast, especially San Isidro and Vicente Lopez, are primarily residential. On the whole, this is the richest area within the periphery of Buenos Aires, and many of the city's well-to-do live here, commuting to the center by car or suburban train. The working class lives predominantly in the most populous suburbs to the south and west, where land prices and rents are lower, e.g. La Matanza, Moron, Lomas de Zamora, General Sarmiento, and Lanus. The older industrial areas, like Avellaneda, Lanus, General San Martin, and Tres de Febrero, have virtually stopped growing and now possess a more or less acceptable ur-

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ban infrastructure. The newer, more distant dormitory towns, such as Almirante Brown, Esteban Echeverria, General Sarmiento, La Matanza, Merlo, and Moreno, are poorer and more deficient in terms of housing and urban infrastructure.

On the whole, the social indicators of the Federal Capital are more favorable than in the surrounding partidos. However, a major dividing line is formed by the Avenida de Mayo and its continuation, the Avenida Rivadavia, which runs from the Plaza de Mayo and the Government Palace, the Casa Rosada, toward the west. Traditionally, the most prosperous neighborhoods are located to the north of this line, especially in the first, second, and ninth school districts, jointly known as the "Barrio Norte." It comprises the financial district, the neighborhoods of Retiro, Recoleta, and Palermo, as well as part of Balvanera, Almagro, Vila Crespo, Charita, and Colegiales. During the 1870s, the city's aristocracy moved to this area to escape the recurrent epidemics that hit the harbor and center. In 1970, it was home to 7 percent of the Metropolitan population, but 28 percent of the people in the highest income groups.

The first school district covers most of the city's commercial center, including the Avenida 9 de Julio, one of the widest in the world, the Calle Lavalle with its many restaurants, and the fashionable shops on the Calle Florida and Avenida Sante Fe. Although already the city's most densely populated area, the second school district maintains a high growth rate, spurred by the construction of new apartment buildings. Another rapidly growing area is the tenth school district, in the extreme north, which comprises the neighborhoods of Belgrano, Nunez, Coghlan, and Saavedra. Like its neighbors, the Barrio Norte and the partido of Vicente Lopez, this area grows primarily through the expansion of housing for the middle and upper class. Belgrano has the highest land prices of the Metropolitan Area.

On the other side of the center, toward the south, is the harbor district, with some of Buenos Aires' traditional ethnic neighborhoods. The Italians, the largest immigrant group, are now quite evenly spread throughout the metropolitan area. Nevertheless, the fourth school district, and especially the neighborhood known as "La Boca," on the mouth of the Riachuelo river, preserve some of the Italian character of earlier years of the century. Today, La Boca is a bohemian and rather decayed neighborhood with noisy bars and dance halls, little pizza parlors, and tenements housing many artists, as well as recent immigrants from other provinces and neighboring countries

The third school district, with the neighborhoods of Monserrat, Constitucion, San Cristobal, and part of Balvanera and Sal Telmo, has a relatively large foreign-born population even today. Traditionally, Spaniards, Italians, and smaller numbers of French and Russian immigrants settled in this area. More recently, it has also attracted immigrants from Poland, as well as neighboring countries and other provinces within Argentina. San Telmo has a famous antique market reminiscent of London's Portobello Road. On the whole, the area south of the center has decayed in recent years, a situation which has not been helped by the construction of an expensive, but largely unused toll highway through the middle of the neighborhoods of San Telmo, Constitucion, and San Cristobal. Like the first school district, the third lost

POPULATION OF BUENOS AIRES BY AGE AND SEX: 1980

FEDERAL CAPITAL

age	*total*	*male*	*female*
All ages	2,922,829	1,327,409	1,595,420
0-4	211,387	106,982	104,405
5-9	180,088	91,118	88,970
10-14	163,988	81,671	82,317
15-19	187,623	89,806	97,817
20-24	222,434	107,603	114,831
25-29	219,102	103,358	115,744
30-34	209,496	97,658	111,838
35-39	188,059	85,913	102,146
40-44	170,045	77,009	93,036
45-49	181,774	82,500	99,274
50-54	199,298	88,220	111,078
55-59	193,569	85,149	108,420
60-64	160,781	66,979	93,802
65-69	153,871	62,040	91,831
70-74	121,907	46,953	74,954
75-79	85,187	31,326	53,861
80-84	47,436	15,372	32,064
85+	26,784	7,752	19,032

METROPOLITAN AREA*

age	*total*	*male*	*female*
All ages	9,766,030	4,695,592	5,070,438
0-4	989,984	501,510	488,474
5-9	855,716	433,242	422,474
10-14	750,320	377,450	372,870
15-19	739,130	366,050	373,080
20-24	774,233	384,030	390,203
25-29	755,145	368,427	386,718
30-34	715,883	349,227	366,656
35-39	632,397	306,942	325,455
40-44	567,836	274,578	293,258
45-49	566,629	273,559	293,070
50-55	572,139	268,779	303,360
55-59	512,301	240,381	271,920
60-64	391,840	174,914	216,926
65-69	349,794	149,424	200,370
70-74	262,758	107,367	155,391
75-79	179,648	70,086	109,562
80-84	96,572	33,137	63,435
85+	53,705	16,489	37,216

**Including the small rural population of 56,453 that does not formally belong to the metropolitan area.*

Source: INDEC: Censo Nacional de Poblacion y Vivienda de 1980

population during the past decade. Along the main avenues, there is a beginning of urban renewal, as new high-rise apartment buildings gradually replace older tenements.

The poorest neighborhoods are in the less densely populated region toward the extreme south and southwest, in the fifth, 13th, 19th, and 20th school districts, e.g., Barracas, Nueva Pompeya, Vila Soldati, Vila Riachuelo, and Mataderos. The southern border of the Federal Capital, with the adjacent census tracts of the partido of Lomas de Zamora, is one of the most depressed within the entire metropolitan area.

POPULATION GROWTH

During the past decade, for the first time in its recorded history, Greater Buenos Aires registered a slower growth rate than the nation as a whole: 1.6 percent a year compared to a national average of 1.8 percent a year. Apart from a slight upturn following World War II, the pace of growth has continually slowed from the more than 5 percent per year of the period between 1895 and 1914. Until the 1930s, most of the increase occurred within the Federal Capital. Since then, however, the population of the Federal Capital has remained almost stationary. In 1980, it was actually smaller than in 1947, due to a 1.7 percent decrease during the past decade.

By contrast, the peripheral municipalities registered a population increase to 5 million in 1970 and 6.84 million in 1980. Consequently their relative weight increased from 37 per-

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTIDOS OF GREATER BUENOS AIRES AND SCHOOL DISTRICTS OF THE FEDERAL CAPITAL

	population in 1980	*population density in 1980*	*annual rate of population growth 70-80*	*percent over age 65*	*percent college educated**
Partidos					
Almirante Brown	331,919	7,043/sqm.	3.1%	6.5%	3.5%
Avellaneda	334,145	15,728	-0.1	10.7	5.0
Berazategui	201,862	2,780	4.7	5.1	2.9
Esteban Echeverria	188,923	1,297	5.4	5.6	2.9
Florencio Varela	173,452	2,180	5.8	4.0	1.4
General San Martin	385,625	17,828	0.7	9.2	4.3
General Sarmiento	502,926	6,643	4.8	4.7	2.5
La Matanza	949,566	7,611	3.7	9.6	3.7
Lanus	466,980	26,866	0.4	7.8	4.9
Lomas de Zamora	510,130	14,839	2.2	5.6	2.9
Merlo	292,587	4,456	4.5	5.4	2.3
Moreno	194,440	2,797	5.5	5.0	2.1
Moron	598,420	11,826	2.1	8.3	6.5
Quilmes	446,587	9,249	2.3	7.4	4.7
San Fernando	133,624	374	1.1	8.1	4.2
San Isidro	289,170	15,596	1.5	8.9	10.9
Tigre	206,349	1,484	3.1	5.8	2.8
Tres de Febrero	345,424	19,440	1.0	9.2	5.2
Vicente Lopez	291,072	19,322	0.2	12.1	13.4
Buenos Aires	2,922,829	37,930	-0.2	14.8	15.0
School districts					
I	296,850	53,000	-1.3	15.6	26.9
II	258,275	87,981	1.0	15.2	19.7
III	150,110	64,769	-1.6	17.6	13.0
IV	99,287	25,705	-1.2	14.5	8.7
V	96,932	21,633	-1.6	14.6	7.9
VI	155,729	82,277	0.5	16.3	11.1
VII	160,944	57,869	0.9	15.4	16.4
VIII	143,599	59,961	0.8	15.7	16.6
IX	254,674	38,784	0.9	13.4	21.0
X	215,218	37,394	1.2	13.7	19.9
XI	107,435	39,175	-0.1	15.7	12.0
XII	116,130	48,492	0.1	15.9	12.4
XIII	107,113	25,917	-1.5	14.6	6.6
XIV	102,678	29,210	-0.8	15.9	10.2
XV	104,110	32,868	0.1	15.3	12.4
XVI	89,671	30,150	-0.7	15.5	10.8
XVII	128,988	35,908	0.3	14.6	13.5
XVIII	105,325	30,986	-0.4	14.9	5.7
XIX	138,029	15,207	-0.3	9.2	4.0
XX	91,732	26,386	-0.5	13.4	6.7

Percentage of the population over age 5 with some college education.
Source: INDEC, Censo Nacional de Poblacion y Vivienda de 1980

AT A GLANCE
GREATER BUENOS AIRES

Oldest
Third District
Sixth District
Twelfth District

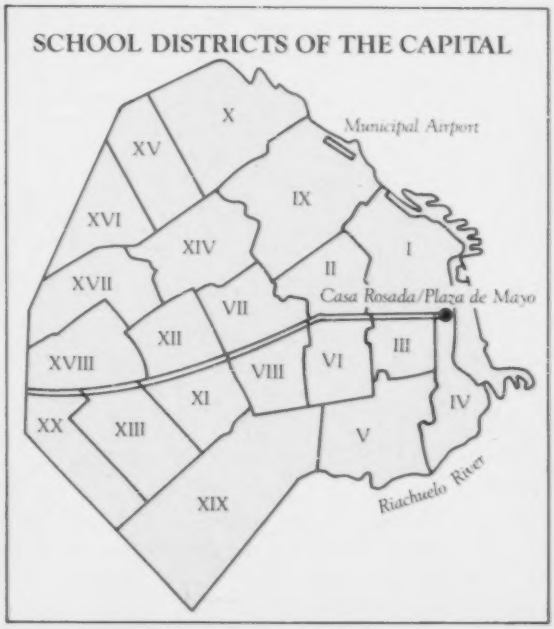
Youngest
General Sarmiento
Florencio Varela
Moreno

Densest
Second District
Sixth District
Third District

Sparsely Settled
San Fernando
Esteban Echeverria
Tigre

High Growth
Florencio Varela
Moreno
Esteban Echeverria

Population Loss
Eighth District
First District
Fifth District



Working Class
La Mantanza
Moron
General Sarmiento
Lanus

Best Educated
First District
Second District
Ninth District

Most Apartments
First District
Second District
Third District
Ninth District

Most Affluent
San Isidro
Vicente Lopez
First District
Second District
Ninth District

Poorest
Fifth District
Thirteenth District
Nineteenth District
Twentieth District
Lomas de Zamora

TIPS ON TRENDS

BRITISH POPULATION

While the population of England and Wales grew only 0.3 percent between 1981 and 1984, some age groups grew more than others. The number of children 0 to 4 increased by 4.2 percent, according to the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, while school-aged children — ages 5 to 15 — decreased by about 8.5 percent. Among working-age adults, the only group to grow was those aged 35 to 44 which increased 10 percent. And while the elderly between the ages of 60 and 74 decreased by 2.7 percent, the "older" elderly — those aged 75 and over — grew by 8 percent.

The dependency burden has shifted in England and Wales. In 1984, 47 percent of the "dependent" population was of pensionable age, compared with only 45 percent in 1981 and only 40 percent in 1971. At the same time, the number of children has declined slowly, thus shifting the dependent population from the young to the old.

BLINDNESS INCREASES IN NEPAL

Cataracts, retinal disease, glaucoma, trachoma, and trauma are causing Nepal's population to go blind at a rate 27 times higher than the rate in the United States.

A recent survey by Nepalese health officials found that Nepal has 100,857 blind people, nearly as many as are found in the United States which has a population 16 times that of Nepal.

Women are more likely to go blind than men and two-thirds of the cases can be traced to cataracts, according to a report in *Population Headliners*, published by ESCAP.

cent of the metropolitan population in 1947 to 70 percent in 1980. The fastest growing partidos are the most distant ones, which still have room for expansion. Florencio Varela, Moreno, Esteban Echevarria, General Sarmiento, Berazategui, and Merlo all grew by more than 50 percent during the 1970s. On the other hand, with the expansion of La Matanza, all partidos immediately bordering on the Federal Capital grew by less than 25 percent, whereas Avellaneda registered a small population loss.

The population losses of the Federal Capital are not evenly spread. The sharpest decrease has occurred in the old center, including the financial district, and in the southeastern region, the first, third, fourth, and fifth school districts. Smaller losses were registered in the 13th and 20th school districts. At the same time, however, the central and northern portions of the city — the second, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth school districts — grew.

HOUSEHOLDS, FERTILITY, AND MORTALITY

According to the 1980 Argentinian census, the distribution of household types is similar to that of any large American city. Fifty-five percent of the metropolitan population lives in nuclear families, with both parents present. In the Federal Capital, this percentage was slightly lower (53 percent), but the proportion of those living in small nuclear families, consisting of both parents with up to two children, was higher: 42 percent in the Federal Capital, compared to 37 percent in the metropolitan area as a whole.

The pattern of small families in the Federal Capital is also evident from the distribution of the 457,659 nuclear families with both parents present by number of children: 36 percent have no children, 27 percent one, and 25 percent two children. The 68,088 incomplete nuclear families, with one parent missing, also are small: only 10 percent had more than two children.

To complete the image of a family pattern similar to that of a large American city, Buenos Aires had 155,299 one-person households, almost 17 percent of the total, which accounted for 5.6 percent of its population. One-person households are especially common in the first, second, and third school districts, where more than 7.5 percent of the people live by themselves. In the peripheral municipalities, mean household sizes were somewhat larger: 3.86 persons, against 3.00 in the Federal Capital and a national average of 3.84. Here, one-person households accounted for only 2.1 percent of the population and couples without children for 6.4 percent. One the other hand, 37 percent of the population of the surrounding suburbs lived in some kind of extended or composite household, compared to 35 percent in the Federal Capital.

A low birthrate (18.1 per 1,000 in 1979), high life expectancy (slightly over 70 years), and some net outmigration combine to make the population of the Federal Capital the oldest of any large Latin American city. In 1980, its median age was 36.7 years, considerably higher than the national figure of 27.2 or the U.S. figure of 30 years. Actually, Buenos Aires median age is as high as that of the Federal Republic of Germany. The proportion of the population over age 65 was 14.9 percent, higher than both the national figure of 8.2 percent or its U.S. equivalent of 11 percent. Consequently, the death rate was relatively high (12.7 per 1,000 in 1979), despite a favorable life expectancy. The median age of the surrounding municipalities (27.6 years in 1980), on the other hand, was only slightly higher than the national average, whereas their percentage of the population above retirement age (7.4 percent) was actually somewhat lower.

The birthrates of these municipalities were also higher than in the Federal Capital, ranging from 16 per 1,000 in Vicente Lopez (1979) and 19 in San Isidro to 29 in General Sarmiento and 34 in Moreno.

MIGRATION

The importance of international migration to the formation of the modern Argentinian nation, and particularly its capital, can hardly be exaggerated. In 1914, 30 percent of the national population and almost half of the population of the city of Buenos Aires consisted of foreigners. Since then, the share has gradually declined, reaching 13.2 percent in 1980. For the metropolitan area as a whole, it was 11.5 percent.

The principal groups of foreign born are still the Italians (328,289 in 1980) and Spaniards (257,508). Most immi-

grants from Eastern Europe, especially Poles (42,708), Germans (16,636), and Yugoslavs, (15,058) came after World War II. In recent years numbers of citizens from neighboring countries have arrived, especially Paraguayans (163,720), Uruguayans (91,212), Bolivians (43,272), and Chileans (40,710).

Internal migration to the metropolitan area continues to be strong. Of the 1.5 million people who changed their residence between provinces during the 1975-80 period, 49 percent went to Greater Buenos Aires. In 1980, the Federal Capital counted almost 740,000 inhabitants born in other regions of the country, i.e., 25.3 percent of its entire population. In the surrounding partidos, this share was higher, about 3.2 million, or 47 percent, including 1.4 million born in the Federal Capital. On the whole, the dominant movement is out of the Federal Capital, toward the peripheral municipalities. During the second half of the past decade, the former suffered by far the largest out-migration of any major geographic unit in Argentina, whereas the latter was by far the largest net receiver of migrants from other provinces.

Of the 1980 population age 5 and over of the Federal Capital, 101,821 had lived in other parts of the metropolitan area in 1975, but the reverse was true for 294,520 inhabitants of the surrounding partidos. The other provinces that accounted for many of the 1980 residents of the metropolitan area were mostly those to the north of Buenos Aires: Entre Rios (305,269), Corrientes (281,634), Santiago del Estero (272,741), Santa Fe (226,857), Tucuman (224,482), Cordoba (202,303), and Chaco (200,787).

EMPLOYMENT IN GREATER BUENOS AIRES AND ARGENTINA BY SEX: 1980

type of employment	*males*	*females*	*total*
Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires			
Agriculture, forestry, and fishing	30,422	4,407	34,829
Mining	3,871	1,123	4,994
Manufacturing industries	770,235	254,924	1,025,159
Utilities	35,020	3,622	38,642
Building and construction	338,673	11,550	350,223
Commerce	524,443	202,122	726,565
Transport and communication	194,709	18,979	213,688
Finance, insurance, and real estate	138,550	79,517	218,067
Services	378,844	507,020	885,864
Other Activities	175,637	74,511	250,148
Total	2,590,404	1,157,775	3,748,179
Argentina			
Agriculture, forestry, and fishing	1,123,138	77,854	1,200,992
Mining	44,194	2,977	47,171
Manufacturing industries	1,556,028	429,967	1,985,995
Utilities	94,789	8,467	103,256
Building and construction	981,251	924	1,003,175
Commerce	1,221,063	481,017	1,702,080
Transport and communication	424,671	35,805	460,476
Finance, insurance, and real estate	265,475	130,229	395,704
Services	1,044,416	1,354,623	2,399,039
Other activities	494,678	196,624	691,302
Total	7,249,703	2,739,487	9,989,190

Source: INDEC, Censo Nacional de Poblacion y Vivienda de 1980.

RACE, ETHNICITY, AND RELIGION

Argentina is by far the "whitest" South American nation, and most of its people are of Southern European descent.

Buenos Aires is almost entirely European. Just as the neighborhoods of immigrant groups have shifted in cities such as New York, the groups in Buenos Aires have shifted as well. The Spaniards, Uruguayans, and Poles predominantly settled in the Federal Capital, whereas the Paraguayans, Portuguese, and Yugoslavs live mostly in the surrounding partidos. The first, second, third, and fourth school districts received many Italian, French, Russian, and Syrian-Lebanese immigrants earlier in the century. Today, however, the entire central and southern area of the Federal Capital houses a large number of migrants from neighboring countries and other provinces of Argentina.

Catholicism is Argentina's constitutional religion, held by more than 90 percent of the population. However, Buenos Aires, with its heterogeneous ethnic make-up, also has various smaller Protestant and other religious groups. Its Jewish community, with 450,000 people, is one of the largest anywhere outside Israel.

HOUSING

Housing conditions in Buenos Aires are relatively good compared to other metropolitan areas in Latin America. In the 1950s, intense internal migration caused the growth of slum settlements, the so-called *villas miseria*, on the edges of town. During the military governments of the 1970s, many of these were removed from the Federal Capital by force. Their inhabitants generally moved to more distant locations in the periphery.

In 1980, the number of *ranchos*, or slum dwellings, and low-quality houses (without running water, sewerage, or solid floors) in the Federal Capital was only 8,540, or 0.9 percent of all housing units, but in the neighboring partidos it reached 421,231, or 24.0 percent, compared to a national average of 27.9 percent.

Apartments make up 73 percent of housing units in the Federal Capital. In the first, second, third, and ninth school districts, the proportion reaches 85 percent or more. In the neighboring partidos, however, apartments are only 15.5 percent. In the partidos, houses with independent access to the street make up nearly 72 percent of housing units. The majority — about 83 percent — are owner-occupied and 84 percent are considered of satisfactory quality.

In the Federal Capital, the percentage of rented homes is higher (24.8 percent) than in the peripheral municipalities (12.2 percent). There are a fair number of tenements (27,897 or 3.2 percent), mostly concentrated in the southeast. In the fourth school district they comprise 23.3 percent of all housing units; in the fifth, third, and sixth

school districts, the percentages are 9.0 percent, 8.4 percent, and 6.8 percent respectively. In the peripheral municipalities, this kind of housing is uncommon.

The number of persons per occupied dwelling in the Federal Capital is now the lowest anywhere in the country, 3 persons, down from 4.3 in 1960. It is slightly less than three in the second and first school districts. These areas, as well as the ninth and tenth school districts, also have high vacancy rates of over 16 percent. For the Federal Capital as a whole, the vacancy rate was 15.6 percent in 1980, one of the highest in the country.

High vacancy rates and the general economic crisis have pushed the real estate market into a slump in recent years. In the peripheral municipalities, however, there is rapid growth; the vacancy rate was 8.9 percent, one of the lowest in the country. Here, the number of persons per occupied dwelling is also higher, about 3.9, slightly down from 4.2 in 1960. Another illustration of the growth of this area is that 40 percent of all homes existing in 1980 had been constructed during the 1970s; in the Federal Capital, only a quarter of homes were constructed in the 1970s.

The domestic facilities in the Federal Capital are quite satisfactory. In 1980, nearly 100 percent of all homes were connected to the electricity network, 99 percent to the general water supply, 98 percent to the general sewerage, and 94 percent to the natural gas distribution system. Ninety percent had baths with hot and cold running water.

In the neighboring partidos, these rates were much lower, except for electricity which reached 97 percent of homes. Only 13 partidos were served by general sewerage and piped water with the general water supply reaching only about 50 percent. Only 34 percent of all homes were connected to the natural gas distribution system and 28 percent to the general sewerage. As alternatives, 63 percent of all homes used gas containers and 58 percent had a local sewerage disposal system. Baths with hot and cold running water were found in 52 percent of all homes. The percentage of households with deficient housing or sanitary conditions is estimated at over 15 percent in Almirante Brown, Berazategui, Esteban Echeverria, Florencio Varela, General Sarmiento, Merlo, Moreno, San Fernando, and Tigre. The least deficient partidos are Avellaneda, Lanus, San Isidro, and Vicente Lopez.

EDUCATION

Argentina is South America's most literate nation, and within its borders, Greater Buenos Aires has the highest literacy rate and the Federal District the highest education levels of any city. The literacy rate in the Federal Capital is nearly 99 percent and 97 percent in the Metropolitan Area as a whole: among native Argentinians it is 98 percent. In the neighboring partidos it is 96 percent and among the foreign-born, 94 percent.

"ARGENTINA IS SOUTH AMERICA'S MOST LITERATE NATION — AND GREATER BUENOS AIRES THE MOST LITERATE CITY."

The proportion of the population without any formal schooling is small, ranging from a low of 1.3 percent in the first school district of the Federal Capital to a high of 6.4 percent in the partido of Florencio Varela.

In 1980, 95 percent of the population over age 5 in the metropolitan area had at least some primary education, whereas 33.5 percent had some secondary, and 7.8 percent some higher education. In the Federal Capital 48 percent had some high school and 15 percent some college. In the peripheral municipalities 27 percent had some high school and 5 percent some college. Almost 30 percent of all Argentinians with some college education live in the Federal Capital. The first, second, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth school districts score particularly high, with more than half of their populations over age 5 educated beyond the primary level.

School attendance is also high by Latin American standards. In 1980, 96 percent of the population aged 7 to 12 was enrolled in primary school, 45 percent of those aged 13 to 18 in secondary schools, and 14 percent of those aged 19 to 23 attend some form of higher education. Again, the latter two figures were considerably higher in the Federal Capital (62 percent and 25 percent respectively) than in the surrounding partidos (40 percent and 9 percent). In 1982, there were 1.3 million students in the 3,109 primary schools of the metropolitan area, 496,000 in its 1,292 high schools, and 237,000 in its 243 university departments and other institutions of higher learning. The city of Buenos Aires has a total of 11 universities. Two others exist in Lomas de Zamora and Moron.

TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

The subway of Buenos Aires, in service since 1913 and locally known as "Subte," is Latin America's oldest. Its 58 stations and five lines, with a total length of 40 miles, handle a total of half a million passengers per day, roughly a fifth of those transported by the New York subway. Although the entire system covers only a relatively small portion of the Federal Capital, all but one of its lines have suburban railway extensions. A fleet of 15,000 buses (1980) completes the city's public transportation system. In addition, there were 619,000 private cars and 121,000 trucks registered in 1980. The metropolitan area counts two main airports: the municipal airport, for domestic flights, and the international airport of Ezeiza, in the partido of Esteban Echeverria, to the south. Their total passenger movement in 1982 was 3.4 million exits and arrivals on national and 1.7 million on international flights.

Argentina's press has visibly suffered under the consequences of seven years of military dictatorship, but continues to be one of the most reputable of the continent. About 45 newspapers are published in the metropolitan area, of which *El Clarin*, *La Nacion*, *La Razon*, and *El Diario Popular* are the only ones with a circulation of more than 100,000. The others include two in German and one each in English, Italian, and Yiddish. About 670 magazines of all sorts were published in the metropolitan area in 1980. Their annual circulation in Greater Buenos Aires was estimated at 110 million. In addition, about 27 million foreign magazines were sold in the area during the same year. The Federal Capital has three government operated and one private television stations. The Provincial Television (Channel 2),

TIPS ON TRADE

ELECTRICITY ONE KEY TO RECEPTIVE CONSUMERS

People in rural villages that have electricity are more apt to have low fertility rates and to be more receptive to new ideas, according to conclusions in an article in the June 1985 *Population Research and Policy Review*.

The article, "Rural Electrification and Fertility Change," written by Sarah F. Harbison and Warren C. Robinson reviews evidence from six studies in nine countries. In most cases, contraceptive knowledge was higher and fertility was lower in rural villages with electricity.

The evidence shows that electrification affects the village's agriculture economy because it provides greater irrigation, mechanization, and therefore increased yields. Electrification encourages the growth of small-scale industries. It improves the operating efficiency of schools and clinics.

In addition to these benefits, the authors add that "electrification can increase the flow of outside information, ideas and images to the village through radio and television and through increased time available for listening, viewing and reading in the evening. Even when the number of television sets, radios, or literate persons is small, the impact of such communications outlets spreads throughout the village."

Besides the impact on the village as a whole, electrification also has an impact on individual households, the authors found. The perception of the need for a large supply of unpaid family labor changes. The demand for consumer durables rises "and a more sophisticated pattern of consumption requirements, competing with child-related expenditures and time requirements" emerges.

People have more leisure time, and values and attitudes within the family may change as there is more opportunity for study and self-improvement.

The extent of electrification may be an important variable in determining whether an area is an appropriate market for certain kinds of goods and services.

A copy of the June 1985 issue of *Population Research and Policy Review* is available from Journal Information Center, Elsevier Science Publishing Company, Inc., 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017; telephone (212) 916-1250. A year's subscription to the *Review* (3 issues) is $71.

CONSUMPTION OF ELECTRICITY

(kilowatt hours/capita/year)

country	*1979*	*1981*
Africa	394	390
Algeria	336	366
Egypt	409	428
Ethiopia	22	21
Ghana	394	397
Kenya	113	111
Morocco	249	256
Mozambique	103	121
Nigeria	79	90
South Africa	3157	2957
Sudan	56	53
Tanzania	39	39
Uganda	37	33
Zaire	165	166
Asia	511	519
Afghanistan	58	63
Bangladesh	28	33
Burma	41	41
China	292	313
India	173	184
Indonesia	45	51
Iran	500	430
Iraq	627	465
Japan	5089	4958
Malaysia	661	662
Nepal	18	18
Pakistan	163	190
Philippines	366	384
Sri Lanka	110	125
Thailand	322	347
Turkey	533	549
Viet Nam	24	26
North America	7542	7511
Canada	13665	14198
USA	10435	10438
Mexico	906	991
South America	1046	1135
Argentina	1410	1400
Brazil	1089	1170
Chile	1020	1061
Colombia	754	853
Peru	535	553
Venezuela	2100	2623
Europe	4513	4607
Czechoslovakia	4687	4966
France	4615	5143
Germany (E)	5860	6121
Germany (W)	6068	6097
Italy	3278	3345
Netherlands	4590	4544
Poland	3319	3202
Romania	2913	3117
Spain	2805	2940
United Kingdom	5366	4974
Yugoslavia	2441	2651
USSR	4643	4880
Australia	6300	6907

Source: Yearbook of World Energy Statistics, United Nations, 1981, selected from Table 43.

which broadcasts from La Plata, can also be received in the metropolitan area. The city also has 13 AM radio stations. Several others broadcast from various locations in the Province of Buenos Aires.

LABOR FORCE AND INCOME

Of the population over age 14, 3.83 million or 51.5 percent were considered economically active by the 1980 census, about the same as the national figure of 50.3 percent. Another 11.6 percent were retired and 7 percent were in school. In the Federal Capital, labor force participation was slightly lower because nearly 16 percent were retired and 8 percent were students.

Although working women are not as common as in the United States, they make up 31 percent of the labor force in the Metropolitan Area, somewhat more than the 28 percent share they held in the entire national labor force. Even married women frequently have jobs, especially in the Federal Capital where their labor force participation reached 26 percent in 1980. In the peripheral municipalities, this rate was somewhat lower, about 20 percent. The rates for single women, however, were similar, about 52 percent in the Federal Capital and 50 percent in the surrounding partidos.

About 50 percent of the economically active population consisted of heads of households with more than one person, 3.5 percent of heads of one-person households, and the remainder of other household members.

The unemployment rate for the metropolitan area is about average. In recent years, it has risen considerably, from 1.7 percent of the labor force in October of 1978, to 5.7 percent in

TELEPHONES IN THAILAND

Look for the Far East to be an important market for telecommunications equipment through the 1990s.

A recent study of the social and economic effects of the rural telephone in Thailand by the East-West Center's Institute of Culture and Communication confirms that telephones are important even in rural areas. The study was done in cooperation with the Telephone Organization of Thailand.

"If a provincial Thai has a telephone, he will use it," according to a report on the study. "If he doesn't, he'll look for one."

According to the report in *Centerviews*, "Telephone communication in Thailand has expanded from 10,000 lines 25 years ago to more than 400,000 in 1985. Another half-million lines are due to be installed next year. By 1988, the total is expected to reach 1.8 million lines at an additional cost of some $1.6 billion. There will then be three lines per 100 people."

Tentative conclusions from the social aspects of the study state that modernization in Thailand "is beginning to affect the small-scale farmer in even the remotest province."

A significant majority of the study's participants said they need to call people outside their workplaces and nearly all said they need to contact family members who live away from home.

"Almost 60 percent of the phone users noted that time would be wasted if an office phone were not available, and more than 70 percent said they might have to travel 20 kilometers or more to use a phone if it were not available. Almost 30 percent of the respondents indicated they face a 3- to 20-day delay in their affairs without any phone available," the *Centerviews* report says.

Public telephones installed in rural areas would be used extensively and would produce the most revenues from long-distance calls, the report said.

KOREA'S PROSPECTS

If South Korea takes the advice of World Bank experts, it will concentrate its manufacturing efforts in the next decade on machinery, appliances, apparel, ship construction, and possibly steel.

While these industries have in common relatively low wage scale in Korea giving them a competitive advantage on the global market, the report comments that they also have other "attractive characteristics."

"In machinery, steel, and shipbuilding, both product and process technologies are stable; price and quality are important determinants of the ability to sell, and the steel industry produces relatively standardized products," the report states. "Success at selling higher quality garments depends on skill at design, flexibility at adapting products and low labor costs. The market for appliances covers a wide spectrum. There is a very large market for low priced, mass produced items of only moderate sophistication that can be captured once producers have mastered the technique of running efficient assembly line operations, practicing strict quality control and creating an apparatus to market and service products."

These comments are part of a 241-page country study, *Korea: Development in a Global Context*, available for $15.00 from World Bank Publications, P.O. Box 37525, Washington, DC 20013.

DISCRETIONARY SPENDING IN THE U.K.

About 22 percent of the approximately 22 pounds that the average British household spends per week on discretionary items goes for alcohol consumed away from home.

The only other items that come close are the 18 percent spent on holidays and the nearly 18 percent that goes for the purchase of television, radio, and musical instruments. Other large shares are taken by the 13 percent spent on eating away from home (but not at the workplace or school), and the nearly 11 percent spent for the purchase of materials for home repairs. Books, magazines, and newspapers consume about 10 percent of discretionary spending.

As a percentage of total household expenditure, households with two adults and those with two adults and one or two children spend the most on discretionary items — 16.4 percent and 15.3 percent of total household budget, respectively.

The patterns of spending discretionary income are based on 1983 data taken from the 1985 edition of *Social Trends*, available for $34.95 from Bernan Associates, 9730E George Palmer Highway, Lanham, MD 20706.

April of 1982. In addition, underemployment (less than 35 hours worked during the reference week) increased from 3.0 percent to 6.4 percent during the same period. About 60 percent of the unemployed are concentrated in the age group between 15 and 29 years.

The largest single employment category is manufacturing industry, more so in the peripheral municipalities than in the Federal Capital. The former hold 36 percent of Argentina's industrial labor force. In the latter, manufacturing comes third, after services and commerce.

Services, which in the country as a whole and in the Federal Capital form the largest category, come second in Greater Buenos Aires, but first in the case of women, 44 percent of whom work in service occupations. Agriculture and mining are obviously of little importance. The fact that Greater Buenos Aires accounts for 55 percent of the national employment in finance and real estate illustrates the geographical concentration of this sector. In the other categories, the figures are similar to the national averages.

Incomes are difficult to measure because of Argentina's astronomical inflation rate, which reached almost 700 percent last year. According to a household survey in March of 1982, the median income of all earners in the metropolitan area was about 2.5 million pesos per month, the rough equivalent of 235 U.S. dollars at the time. Some 15 percent of the labor force earned less than $100 and 5 percent more than $750 per month. The percentage of families whose incomes

are considered insufficient to provide for their basic needs varies from 2.1 percent in the Federal Capital and 2.3 percent in Vicente Lopez to slightly over 5 percent in Almirante Brown, Esteban Echeverria, Florencio Varela, General Sarmiento, Merlo, and Moreno. If other dimensions of the quality of life, such as housing and education, are taken into account, the percentage of households with substandard living conditions increases to 7.4 percent in the Federal Capital and to more than 25 percent in Almirante Brown, Berazategui, Esteban Echeverria, Florencio Varela, General Sarmiento, Merlo, Moreno, and Tigre.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Argentina's census has a separate volume on the Federal Capital and eight on the other partidos of Greater Buenos Aires, apart from several tables in the national census volumes that have been broken down to the metropolitan level. These contain extensive information on some items, such as household composition, housing, and education, but none on others, like religion, incomes, and possession of certain household articles. Information on some of these items can be obtained from other sources, such as the Permanent Household Survey, which is held three times per year. The most recently published survey was held in April of 1982 and contains tables on labor force participation, employment, education, and incomes. Income statistics are also provided by *Distribucion del Ingreso Urbano en la Argentina*, although the usual caution should be taken in their interpretation.

Another study, "La Pobreza en la Argentina," based on unpublished census materials, makes a detailed geographical analysis of the extent of poverty and substandard housing and education in Argentina, including Greater Buenos Aires. All of these Spanish-language publications, as well as the *Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Argentina*, can be obtained through the Instituto Nacional de Estadistica y Censos (INDEC), Calle Hipolito Yrigoyen 250, piso 12, Buenos Aires.

In English, there are the State Department's *Background Notes on Argentina*, published in May of 1980, and the *Overseas Business Report* of September of 1981. General demographic information on Argentina can be found in *International Demographics'* feature article on that country, published in May of 1984 (vol. 3, no. 5). •

—Ralph Hakkert

Acknowledgement: My thanks to Fernando Brunstein and Nora Clichevsky, who provided background information and source materials.

FEATURE

CREATING CONSUMER MARKETS IN THE RURAL THIRD WORLD

Editor's Note: Jane K. Boorstein is a regular contributor to International Demographics, *usually from the United Nations. This spring she visited a rural village in the Philippines to learn more about the work of the International Institute of Rural Reconstruction (IIRR). The institute is a 60-year-old research and educational training institution, incorporated in the United States and headquartered in Silang, Cavite, the Philippines. There are affiliate rural reconstruction movements in Colombia, Guatemala, Thailand, Ghana, and India. Here is her report.*

Unlike the countryside of Western nations, the rural areas of the Third World — home to half the world's population — are not good markets for consumer goods.

Growth in consumer markets requires growth in discretionary income. According to IIRR, that is difficult to achieve where the labor force is illiterate, in poor health, without money, and only marginally civic-minded. No one of these social ills is the central problem. Market growth requires that all of them be attacked in parallel to achieve lasting effects. Why this is so and how these markets can be improved became clear to me when I visited Kanutuhan in the Philippines with two facilitators from IIRR.

The vegetable-farming village of Kanutuhan can be reached only by jeep or on foot. Houses have thatched palm roofs. Beds are bamboo slats softened by palm mats. Water is carried in jugs from distant wells.

Adhering to the theory of working *with* rather than *for* people, the institute's facilitators in Kanutuhan (as in 80 other locales where they work) first take time to get to know the people, learn the dynamics of the community, and identify issues of local concern. Then through discussion, the facilitators help the people understand the causes and interrelationships of their problems.

A common problem is debt. Every year a trader offers the villagers a loan on the condition that they sell him everything they raise at a price he specifies. The facilitators help the farmers understand that success is possible through joint efforts. Villagers learn how to sum their individual financial needs, take a collective loan from the institute, and repay it over time. This frees them from obligation to the trader and allows them to negotiate and sell their produce in a competitive market. The farmers in

continued

Editor's Note: The U.S. Census Bureau has exhausted its supply of "International Trends and Perspectives: Aging" mentioned in the September issue of *International Demographics*. Circulation copies may be available at Federal Deposit Libraries.

Kanutuhan accepted what was for them a substantial loan — $2,500 — yet repaid it in full within 18 months.

Any project the institute assists must be simple, economical, practical, and adaptable to other areas. The loan made to the farmers of Kanutuhan is a prime example. With the excess money they generated, the farmers made loans to the women's groups in the community, enriching the entire community and making it more self-sufficient.

The women worried about two problems: disease and periodic food and money shortages. Using a picture chart divided into months, institute workers helped the women see that they were ill during the same months every year and that these times were also months of little food and money. Months just prior to harvest meant little to eat from the farms and little income for food purchases in local markets.

IIRR helped the women realize that if they accepted a loan from the farmers, they could set up a village cooperative to buy the most-needed medicines and supplies in bulk. This helped not only to overcome illness but to stretch available funds further. Buying in bulk saved enough money to create a community loan fund for individuals in emergency situations.

IIRR attacks illiteracy by teaching practical skills related to everyday work. For example, a woman at the village cooperative meticulously recording sales of two aspirin, one chocolate, and two cigarettes in her ledger had learned to write to do her job despite the fact that she had completed only one grade of school. In between each woman's turn at the store, an accountant — a fourth-grade dropout — monitors the ledger. A woman who completed only the third grade can use charts to explain the reasons for eating a balanced diet and ways to detect simple illnesses.

IIRR also helped the women become more self-sufficient in coping with disease. Since government health-care workers are scarce — one high school graduate worker to 5,000 people — the women were taught through seminars to distinguish between health problems they could handle themselves and ones that needed to be referred. They also learned that some modern medicines had a place alongside their traditional ones.

The difference between programs like the institute's and some traditional development programs became obvious during this on-site visit. Too often traditional programs offer piecemeal assistance with leaders who do not live in the villages. Well-funded programs may spur quick progress but have negative fallout because villagers never learn how all the pieces fit together.

For example, in Kanutuhan, as in many other Philippine communities, a few men were lured to Saudi Arabia for three-year jobs which paid high wages for little experience. While the money the men sent home bought cinder block rather than bamboo houses, televisions, and jeepneys, the men's extended absence from their families often caused irreparable social problems. Once the men returned home, they lacked an understanding of how to use their money carefully, as they had no feeling of integration between their work experience and their home environment.

Even though this IIRR project is carefully conceived, there is still room for improvement. The Kanutuhan villagers still perceive a need for a large supply of unpaid family labor. However, as health care improves and population grows, productivity that could produce discretionary income will be required to feed, clothe, and house the continuously growing population. At this point, it may be easier for villagers to accept the ways in which family planning can improve their lives.

In my brief stay, I saw that how well community members understand methods of achieving growth in health, education, jobs, and self-government relates directly to their success in raising their discretionary incomes. Growth in consumer markets in the rural Third World depends on this process. •

Jane K. Boorstein

More information about the work of IIRR is available from International Institute of Rural Reconstruction, 1775 Broadway, New York, NY 10019; telephone (212) 245-2680.

COMING UP

Paris: The city center is revitalizing as the metro area expands.

In Japan, young women are targets for the new light-alcohol drinks.

CORRECTION

The review of *Travel Industry World Yearbook* in the September issue incorrectly stated that the number of Americans traveling to the Soviet Union was in the millions. The statement should have read, "In 1979, 57,000 people traveled from the U.S. to Russia; in 1980, only 18,000 people made the trip; and by 1983, the number had risen to 50,000."

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